

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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Red See Page 3

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F.D.R. Hits at Press

THE steadily mounting campaign of lies against labor, led by the National Association of Manufacturers, met a sharp setback when President Roosevelt declared in his press conference (March 17) that no "anti-strike" legislation was needed because war production was going along all right. The President took occasion to say—inviting direct quotation—that an "amazing state of public misinformation" exists in the country on such questions as the 40-hour week, strikes in war industry, overtime, etc. Since the public gets its information almost entirely from the press and radio, this is a damning indictment of the commercial newspapers and radio commentators. It bears out what the labor and liberal press—and IN FACT—say and prove in every issue, that the regular function of the commercial press and radio chains is to attack labor by every weapon of invention, distortion and suppression, in order to confuse and weaken the labor movement.

"Lies! Lies! Lies!"

OCCASIONALLY a reader writes to tell us we are too blunt in denouncing press falsehoods, should be more objective. When we come across such a roundup as last week's, taken from the conservative railroad brotherhood magazine "Labor" (11 outstanding cases of lies against labor unions nailed in one issue) we cannot find another word to fit these falsehoods than the short and ugly one. The newspaper PM (which takes no advertising and whose owner, Marshall Field, is one of the wealthiest men in the country) prides itself on poise and objectivity. But last week, on this same issue of the campaign against labor under guise of patriotism, PM boiled over. Its first page was plastered with headlines denouncing "Lies about Labor"—in red ink too—and it gave up four pages to exposing these lies.

Following the President's thinly-veiled exhortation of the press for creating an "amazing state of public misinformation" three high-ranking officials went before Congress:

Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, said that "to abolish the 40-hour week would be harmful to our productive picture."

Secretary of Labor Perkins said that in January and February the time lost to war production by strikes was just three-one hundredths of one percent.

Under Secretary of War Patterson urged defeat of the anti-labor bill introduced by Representative Howard Smith, poll-tax congressman from Virginia, which would repeal all wage-hour legislation and outlaw overtime pay.

These specific, detailed and authorita-

Report on Russia, by Sir Stafford Cripps..... p. 1

"Rubber Barons" Scandal Suppressed..... p. 3

Falangistas in Puerto Rico..... p. 4

(Editorial Note: The following article on Russia appeared in the latest edition of the London Tribune to reach America. In addition to giving Cripps' views on Russia it is also a statement of what liberal Britain thinks. Sir Stafford is now on a mission of liberation in India and probably will some day be prime minister of Britain.)

By SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

THE readers of the [London] Tribune are probably, most of them, already very well-informed as to the Russian situation, and it would be out of place to write an article descriptive of events that have already been recorded and are well-known to them. But having lived in the heart of the Russian struggle since the war started on that front, perhaps I may try to convey to my readers something of the atmosphere which has surrounded and now surrounds that struggle.

Although I have never actually been at the front (except from the point of view of being bombed in Moscow!) there has throughout been a sense of immediate and continuous tension, and almost vivid sharing in the actual day to day anxieties of the battle, which seems strangely lacking in the atmosphere of this country.

I cannot avoid the feeling that here in Britain there is a want of realization of the dangers and tragedies of war on the grand scale, as they present themselves in the Russian picture. The urgency of the atmosphere is not so pressing as it should be and an apathy, as of witnesses of far-off events, seems to have come over our people. An atmosphere of urgency existed in the days of Dunkirk, but now it has dissolved.

Only Red Army Can Defeat German Army

I want to try for a few moments to transfer you to the vast snow-covered plains of Russia, to the intense cold which reigns there now in which a wounded man can live but a few minutes before he is frozen to death and where a bomb-shattered window is a major domestic tragedy. We speak with pleasure and with pride of the fact that the Russians applied the scorched earth policy in their efforts to stay the advancing Germans—that is, while the Germans were still advancing. But do we ever think what it has meant to the hundreds of thousands of peasants who have to be left behind in the scorched areas—left behind to meet, unarmed and unprotected, the German anger and hate? These countless thousands are as much the true heroes of war as any soldier in the front line. Faced by cold and starvation they hang grimly on. As the German troops go forward they organize themselves into guerilla bands, ambushing and destroying in the forests and along the highways, and risking and meeting the most terrible suffering and torture in case of capture. That has been the life of millions of the ordinary humble peasants in the occupied parts of Russia and that heroism has played a vital part in the war.

Living conditions in Russia are not easy. With an army of nine millions and a vast number of refugees from the occupied areas, and from the large centers of population close to the front line with so many of the most fertile parts of the country occupied or "scorched," the problem of feeding the people becomes one of immense difficulty, and beside it our own food problem looks simple and easy of solution. To help the Russian people we should, and I am sure would, be prepared to forego many things ourselves. A whole host of commodities that we in England regard as the most ordinary necessities of life have disappeared from the Russian market to make way for full war production. One thing is certain; the sole means of defeating the German Army is the Soviet Army. We may, and I hope we shall, help, but the main part of the fighting on land has been done and must continue to be done by our gallant allies.

We must visualize this whole picture of the fight against Nazism in its true perspective. We must realize the immense losses, running into millions, and

boundless sacrifices and the vast strength that Russia is contributing to our common effort, and we must see to it that it is a common effort, and not two isolated and disconnected efforts. We should be fighting one single war against a common enemy, with one strategy and one inspiration.

The strategy of the Russian fight has been the same as was applied in the war against Napoleon, making due allowance for the difference in the nature of the armaments employed; a retirement into the great wide spaces of the Russian plains, but fighting all the time, until the enemy is worn down, and then the choice of the moment at which the fresh forces should be thrown in to break the advance. With modern tanks and the speed of action that they give this is a difficult operation and requires all the skill of which great commanders are capable if the destruction of the retiring armies is to be prevented. Half a dozen times the Germans thought and announced that they had caught the Russians in their pincers, and that they were able to break the resistance of the Soviet armies, but each time these armies were successfully extricated and continued their stubborn fight.

All Moscow Police Sent to Front

On the 15th of October Mr. Molotov, the Foreign Minister, sent for me and told me that the Germans were so dangerously near Moscow that all the diplomatic corps must leave within six hours and go to Kuibyshev on the Volga. The night before the Germans had broken through and it looked as if nothing could stop them, and nothing did except the almost superhuman courage of the soldiers of the Red Army. Every policeman in Moscow was mobilized that night and sent to the front, and the front held.

Stalin decided not to throw in all his forces so long as he could just hold on to Moscow, even if he had to give more ground and still further endanger the city. Especially he built up a large cavalry reserve around Moscow, amounting to about 70,000 men, and then he bided his time till the Germans reached that stage of exhaustion that would spell their defeat by fresh Soviet troops. The critical moment came on the night of December 6. Then the German troops were at one point within artillery range of the city, though they never had the chance to fire their guns. Moscow was almost surrounded and the last great railway junction to the east was being attacked. This was the supreme moment and the Soviet cavalry under General Belov were thrown in to attack the Germans. Stalin had judged right. The Germans broke and started the retreat which later spread all along the front.

They were not fighting in an area honeycombed with roads and railways but one which, according to our Western European ideas, had the most sparse means of communication. How came it, then, that the Russians succeeded and the Germans, with their wonderfully organized Blitz, failed? Not by means of a superb and highly accurate mechanism of organization on the Russian side, but by the brilliance of their young generals, by the initiative of their officers and soldiers, by the sure hand of their high command and of Stalin himself, the supreme director of their efforts, and because every man, woman and child throughout the areas where the fighting took place and along the areas where the fighting took place and along the lines of communication behind the front gave their most devoted and obedient service to the saving of their country.

Russians' Morale Higher Than Ever

Their passionate love of their country and their pride in its achievements have been the stimulus behind their great resistance. They believe, truly I think, that they have a present and a future that is worth fighting for, and they will fight for it till they die.

Throughout all this time of war they have never lost for one moment their deep sense of culture and their love of song and dance and drama, which has made Moscow one of the most remarkable centers of culture in the whole world. Throughout the most difficult times the theatre, the ballet and the opera have gone on and have provided a relaxation and a refreshment for soldiers and civilians alike. They have done more, they have provided an inspiration in vivid contrast to the brutality of the German invaders.

Today the morale of the Russians is higher than ever it has been, and the support for Stalin and his government is more wholehearted than even at the beginning of the war. Those amongst the Germans who were calculating upon the rising of the "suppressed people of Russia" have been sadly disillusioned, so much so that not very long ago one of the Rumanian papers complained bitterly that they had been unable to find any Quislings in the occupied parts of Russia!

Tribune readers may remember that before I went to Russia I had often written about our relationships with the Soviet Union and had expressed views as to their actions and their intentions. I have found no reason to modify those views during my stay in Russia. I should again write the same things were the circumstances to be repeated. I have indeed been confirmed in all that I have thought and I have left Russia with an even greater and more enthusiastic friendship for the Russian people. I have seen them at their great best, as they have been moulded and formed by the whole long history of their country. The younger generation has been shaped largely by the events that have occurred

tive refutations of the lies spread about labor, while they silenced and in some cases convinced the congressmen who listened to them, have not made the liars themselves either apologize or shut up.

Some of the Liars

H. V. KALTENBORN has been leading the attack on the radio, with a story about strikes costing 2,000,000 work-hours in February—enough to build 2,000 planes. Donald M Nelson told the military subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee:

"Unqualifiedly, sir, we did not lose 2,000 planes in February as the result of strikes . . . and nothing like that number, sir. . . . I would say that in January and February there was as near an ideal situation with respect to interruptions because of strikes as we might have even the hope of expecting."

Did Kaltenborn retract? He didn't even mention Nelson's testimony—nor the President's denial that the 40-hour week was "mandatory"—nor the President's charge that the public was misinformed (by Kaltenborn among others). In his broadcast two nights later (March 21) Kaltenborn was still campaigning hotly against "the 40-hour week," quoting an unnamed aviation executive against labor, quoting a minor official's letter of praise to himself, and urging further pressure on Congress to destroy labor's hard-won gains. The following day he repeated his attack.

National Association of Manufacturers circulated through the Associated Press a story which gave a picture of "critical" strikes, enormously on the increase. Senator Maybanks cited this story to Nelson at the hearing, declaring it "a gross exaggeration, but it has been mailed and distributed all over South Carolina and has gone all over the country." Here Senator O'Mahoney interjected a hint that holds considerable promise: "The National Association of Manufacturers should be called before the appropriate committee of Congress to give the authority of such statement." IN FACT has referred many times to the report of the O'Mahoney Monopoly Committee branding the NAM as the most powerful group in the corruption of the press, through advertising. If Congress now turns the spotlight on the methods of NAM, the country is in for some real education as to who is impeding the war effort.

Scripps-Howard. An anti-labor editorial written by Edward T Leech of the Pittsburgh Press furnished a good chunk of the ammunition for the present press campaign against labor. Employers' associations have been reprinting it, pressuring their congressmen with it, smearing labor everywhere. The anti-labor reactionary character of Scripps-Howard is well known. Here is an example of its honesty: On the day that President Roosevelt made his striking denunciation of "public misinformation" the NY World-Telegram completely omitted this from its Washington story. (A "direct quote" by the President is mandatory first page news in any self-respecting newspaper.) But the World-Telegram had room on its first page next day for a story headed "President Won't See Rail Head on Strike." This was George P McNear Jr, president of the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad, who

six times refused government's request that he arbitrate—the union each time agreed—and finally had his railroad taken over by the United States, as the only way to move war materiel and supplies. (Incidentally, when the road was taken over the NY Times headed its story (March 22) "President Seizes Peoria Railroad Crippled by Strike.")

Labor on Alert

POLL tax Congressmen who fill the press with demands for laws "regulating" labor unions have their answer in what the United Automobile Workers (CIO) are doing about regulating itself. The auto workers have been fighting off the attempted invasion of KuKluxKlan and other Fascist elements; at the same time they have been aware of a weakness in their own organization's educational work. A week or so ago the State Education Committee of the Michigan organization held a long session in Detroit, and when the meeting was over the finger pointed squarely at the cause of the weakness—Richard L-G Deverall, educational director of the UAW.

In a unanimous report sent to President R J Thomas, Secretary-Treasurer George F Ades and all International Executive Board members—which is expected to produce prompt action—Deverall is accused of acting "like a fifth columnist," of being a supporter of Mussolini, Petain, Hitler and American Fascists." Deverall's writings in Christian Social Action are quoted to show he advocated the adoption of Fascist forms of government here; that as late as January, 1941, he was praising the "great advances made by Duce" in Italy; and that he recommends openly the propaganda of Lawrence Dennis, native Fascist "brain-truster." He has been denounced by Michael Williams, editor of the Commonweal, as serving "the evil designs of the Hitlerized Germany of 1940" and by Professor Ross Hoffman, of Fordham University in these terms: "It seems to me that you are marching under that crooked cross which Pius XI called a cross that is not the cross of Christ."

Labor has a keen nose for Fifth Columnists and Fascist apologists. The charges against Deverall are now before the leadership of the Auto Workers Union, and something probably will drop pretty soon.

Town Hall's Dead Issue

IN preparation of its March 19 labor discussion America's Town Meeting of the Air advisory service sent its study groups and others a memo which announced that the title, "Is the Closed-Shop Democratic" had been changed to "The Open or Closed Shop for War Industries." The change is significant.

If your name is addressed in red and your number is:

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since the revolution. All that is good and fine and courageous in the Russian people has been brought out by their environment.

We may have many criticisms to make of events in Russian history in the far distant past or in the more recent years, but fundamentally we must ask ourselves whether we have done any better than they have in fighting the battle of the common people of the world? We look to them for help now in the difficult days of our common struggle, let us also look to their help in the difficult days in which the peace of the world will be won or lost after the war is over. It is, I am convinced, profoundly important for the future of mankind that we should turn our forced association as common enemies of Hitler, into a willing cooperation in the reconstruction of Europe after the war.

"RUBBER BARONS" SCANDAL SUPPRESSED

THE charge that the Standard Oil of New Jersey synthetic rubber scandal is being suppressed by officials in Washington, and that news of it is being suppressed not only in the commercial or standard press (which loves Esso, Socony and other Rockefeller accounts) but also in some liberal publications is made in David Munro's newsletter, Space & Time (March 16), which claims that SO president Wm S Farish (NJ) "pressed the button of the jack-in-the-box press and produced the smiling face of John D Rockefeller Jr singing the Star Spangled Banner" as a propaganda device to conceal the scandal.

Esso Marketers, it is also pointed out correctly, devoted time on all radio programs to defending corporation in "Buna" or synthetic rubber scandal. S&T calls these defense statements via radio "lies." It also declares that "as a final, determined kick at the face of America the War Production Board issued a sly 'request' censorship stipulation asking makers of synthetic rubber to cease giving out information. But more and more awful details keep coming to light and more and more of them are fed to the Truman Committee—even though Humble Oil's Senator Tom Connally still sits on the publicity lid. The truth is that the details of what has happened to rubber in the USA are so startling that there is neither citizen nor Standard Oil stockholder nor ordinary employee who would not be shocked. Go back again to 1927 when Standard of New Jersey acquired the Buna patents from I G Farbenindustrie and follow the trail.

"Buna was good. Buna was so good that even in Germany, where raw materials are scarce, Buna was made for 7½¢ a pound. Buna in the USA is made from butiedene, which is made from butane. And butane is one of the 'wet gases' burnt in the open air as a waste product in the process of extracting petroleum. Butane costs about .6¢ pound in liquid form. Each 2½ pounds make one pound of butiedene, or at the rate of 1.5¢ a pound. And butiedene is transformed into rubber on a pound for pound basis. The ingredient cost of Buna in America is therefore a penny and a half. Buna, the resultant rubber, is superior to the natural product. Thus, potentially, Standard controlled a big business. Perhaps as big as Standard was itself, at the time. The new factors, herein for the first time indicated, concern the tremendous payoff that Walter Teagle took, on behalf of his company, to sell his country out.

"In the late twenties, Standard had begun to fear expanding Shell. Shell, with the yellow-colored pumps, was known in the oil business as the yellow peril. On the other hand, Shell, backed by the British Navy and the British Government, both of which it controlled, had gradually secured control of key oil producing areas throughout the world. Standard held off. In 1930 occurred the Teagle-Deterding rapprochement, Standard's Walter Teagle secured a relaxation of the rapid expansion of Shell in the USA. He also secured a divvy from Sir Henry of a share in the oil areas throughout the world already seized or sequestered by Shell. It is even thought that Teagle secured the services of the British fleet.

"An internationalist, Teagle wrote off the interest of America in domestic rubber production at zero. But the trouble was that he failed even to use sound commercial judgment. The fleet whose services he seemed to have secured has not been sufficient. The producing areas have been either lost or rendered valueless. The connection established with Sir Henry Deterding, who since declared himself an open supporter of the Hitler régime, has been nothing but an embarrassment to his company."

Sir Henry Deterding, Dutch multi-millionaire knighted in Britain for his part in seizing most of the oilfields for Royal Dutch and Shell interests, is one of the many multimillionaires who subsidized Hitler and planned a war of Germany and all the nations Hitler could muster against Russia. Deterding claimed the Baku oilfields for his corporations, and when Russia refused to give them up, he subsidized a war in the Caucasus. Deterding also published his autobiography in the Saturday Evening Post in which he said that if any man refused to work he would have him shot. He asked the printer to put the last phrase in big type. Hitler repaid his Dutch Fascist friend by killing 30,000 civilians in Rotterdam.

According to S&T the British [and Dutch] interests prevented the production of synthetic rubber in America to protect their investments in Java, Sumatra, Malay Peninsula. The scorched earth policy was not used. The rubber plantations were not disturbed, and S&T suspects the British private interests with working to get the gov't to make a deal with Japan. It continues: "The catch is that Standard of NJ was and is a party to all the deals. So long as the trees of the Dutch East Indies stand there is reason to believe that SO NJ will continue to sabotage the effort to create US domestic synthetic rubber." As for

Esso announcement it would give its patents to anyone free for duration, "the catch is that no other manufacturer could possibly afford to put up a plant which could be rendered useless by Standard's taking back the patents at war's end."

(First reports of the sabotage of US synthetic rubber production by Standard Oil and other firms appeared year ago in I. F. Stone's "Business as Usual." Later, revelations of SO deal with I G Farbenindustrie which completely held up US Buna rubber, were published by Stone in The Nation and PM; by G Reimann in New Republic, by Pearson and Allen, by Union for Democratic Control, and in Congressional Record by several senators and representatives. The commercial press hasn't heard much about this scandal yet; it still carries big SO ads.)

When Leon Henderson finished his testimony on rubber shortage March 5 Senator Tom Connally walked over to Jesse Jones and patted him on the shoulder. The Truman Committee, Washington correspondents report, has glossed over the Standard Oil of NJ scandal. Connally is "resolute friend" of Humble Oil, 78% owned by SO. Munro believes that "either a) the officials [of SO NJ] are so concerned with extending their monopolistic control that they strangle the country in the midst of its fight for life, or b) the company is still under foreign or enemy influence. It makes for defeat whatever the case."

FALANGISTAS IN PUERTO RICO

MEMO to the Dies Committee: You are asking for \$100,000 to \$300,000 more, especially to investigate Falangists—in Latin America. Take a look at Puerto Rico which is a part of the United States. A correspondent of IN FACT from San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 15:

"A few days ago a group of about twenty Spaniards, the majority of whom were very active members of the Spanish Phalanx (Falange Espanola) until recently dissolved, applied for US citizenship.

"Two hearings were held before US District Judge Robert A Cooper. The applicants appeared with an imposing staff of wellknown attorneys. Two or three days later, Judge Cooper gave his opinion and order, stating among other things that he, the Judge, was sure that he could not find cause why the applicants should not be granted the privilege of American citizenship, adding that he had no doubt they would become and remain loyal American citizens, and that they could appear in court to take the oath at their convenience.

"It is a matter of public knowledge—and I do not exclude Judge Cooper—that when the murderous bombing of the Loyalist city of Almeria by the Nazi fleet took place these applicants and all Falangistas approved and applauded that act of barbarism committed against a city of their own land; that when the Nazi warship Meteor arrived at the port of San Juan they tendered its officers and crew a Wine of Honor in the Spanish Club. Pictures of that act appeared in the magazines of San Juan in which a number of the applicants can be seen under a picture of Hitler, drinking to Nazi Germany and its Fuehrer.

"Is it not reasonable to assume that those who applauded, wine and dined those Nazis that had recently bombed a city of their own country would rejoice at the dastardly attack on Pearl Harbor, which after all is not their country? Yet a Federal Judge believes, is sure, that they will become loyal American citizens and will remain so. I may add that the liberal, democratic opinion of Puerto Rico has been shocked by Judge Cooper's ruling."

Town Hall, supposedly impartial, objective, and fair to all sides, is accused by members of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and several college professors who have written IN FACT, of loading its questions, conducting its nation-wide hookup meetings unfairly to labor.

The advisory sheet has a mild paragraph on "some arguments for" and a vicious paragraph on "some arguments against. . . ." Four questions follow, the last being: "Do you think it is fair to force a worker to join a union? Why or why not?" After every Fascist claim against labor, from Mussolini to the National Association of Manufacturers is repeated, this final line is conclusive proof that America's Town Meeting prepared to make its March 19 broadcast anti-labor.

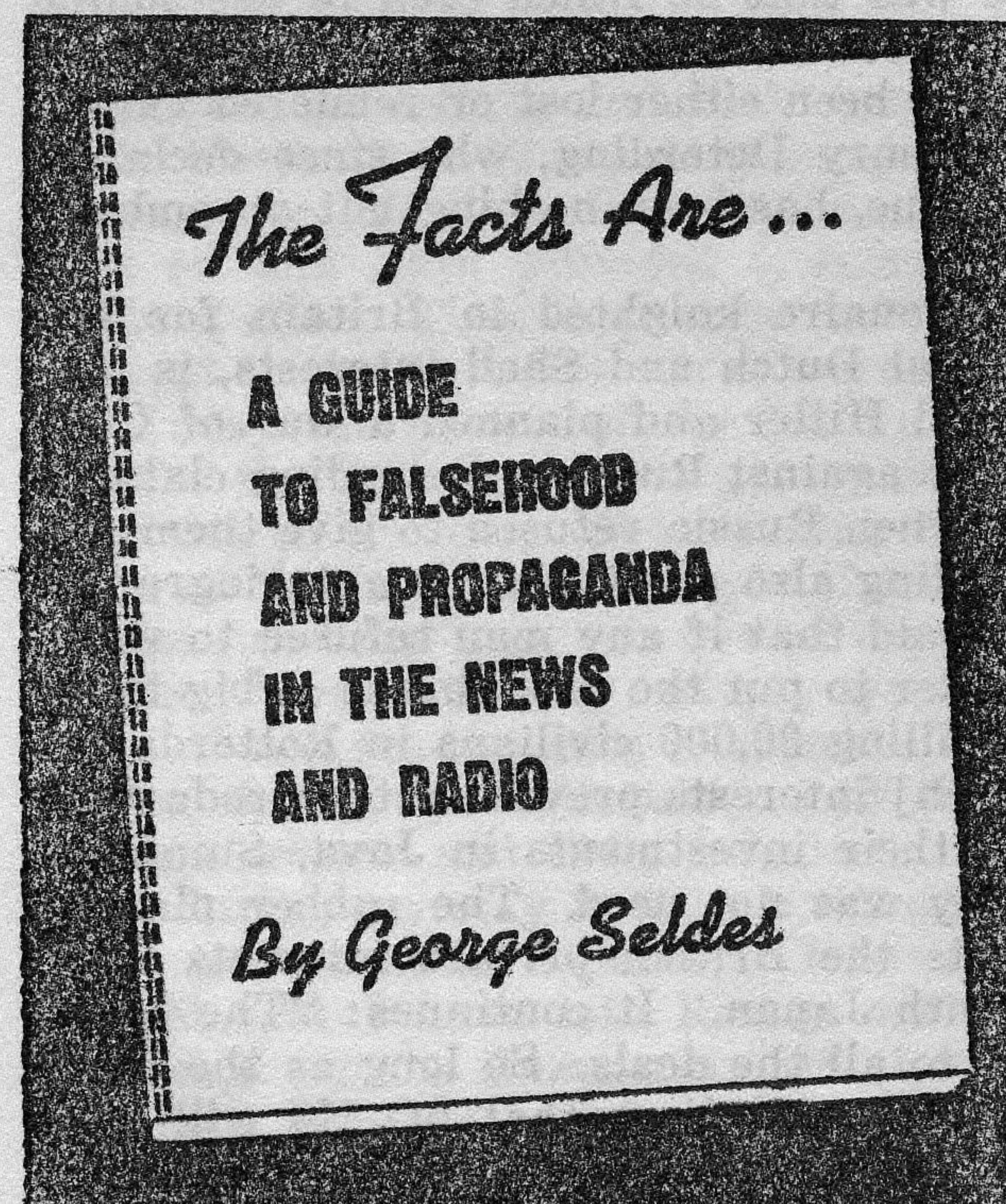
The closed shop question is similar to the 12-hour day, the 10-hour day and the 8-hour day questions, all of which have been settled; to woman suffrage, enfranchisement of the Negro, and other national matters. In the report of the LaFollette Committee just issued (77th Congress, Report 1150, part 1), the Fascist acts of the Associated Farmers of California are condemned and the California Supreme Court decision effectively answering "the hysterical propaganda against the closed shop . . . spread by the employers' associations" is given (page 56). There is no question about a closed shop there. Mussolini, Hitler and other Fascists do not recognize the closed shop; they abolish it; and eventually they enslave all labor.

Stacking the Cards

ALL the applause at the March 12 Town Meeting of the Air went to anti-labor statements. There were two anti-labor speakers, no pro-labor. This would indicate two things:

1. There is a deliberate method of choosing speakers so that only one side of a controversy is presented.
2. There is a method of distributing the free tickets so that anti-labor, anti-liberal factions make up the audience.

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Rules of the Subscription Contest

A contestant is any subscriber to In Fact (excepting employees and their families) who sends in a minimum of 5 yearly subscriptions and/or renewals at \$1 not later than 12 PM, May 8th, 1942 (closing date). Subscriptions and/or renewals must be clearly marked for "Contest Department." A contestant may receive the help of others, but only the contestant will receive credit. Subscriptions and/or renewals must be accompanied with the full amount due; use money order, check or registered mail. Do not accumulate subscriptions; send them in as you get them. These rules are condensed from the complete statement of Contest Rules appearing in the Feb. 2nd issue. Copy mailed on request.

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